

A People's War and a People's Peace

APR 9 1943

SPECIAL NUMBER OF

The American
Teacher

PREPARED BY

The Commission
on Education
and the
Postwar World

IN CELEBRATION OF

THE 200th ANNIVERSARY of the birth of THOMAS JEFFERSON

A Builder and
Interpreter
of American
Democracy



IN THIS NUMBER

John Childs
Merle Curti
John Fewkes
William Green
Carter Goodrich
Eduard Hellmann
Ernest Johnson
W. H. Kilpatrick
Irvin Kuenzli
Reinhold Niebuhr
Mary Townsend

"Establish and improve the law for educating the common people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness."

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed—"

"Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error."

THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 13, 1743—July 4, 1826

The American Teacher

APRIL, 1943

America, Russia and the Communist Party in the Postwar World

First Report of the American Federation of Teachers Commission on Education and the Postwar World

Some Comments:

"This is an honest and courageous analysis, well-written and, in the best sense of the term, a tract for the times. I believe its answer is sound and constructive, and unless we wish to risk a third attempt to muddle through, it seems the only promising channel designed to prevent World War III."

HARRY D. GIDEONSE, *president, Brooklyn College*

"I think this is an extremely valuable book. It makes precisely the kind of discriminations which ought to be made if we are to find our way through the very difficult problem of establishing a partnership with Russia in the postwar world without making any concessions to international communism, insofar as it represents a threat to the democratic institutions of the West."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, *president, the Union for Democratic Action*

"I have read this book with the greatest interest and approval. It is excellently thought, excellently written, and defensible, I believe, beyond any possible attack. I hope it will be widely read and widely accepted."

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK, *Columbia University*

"Here is an exercise in logic which reflective citizens, especially if they happen also to desire a peaceful world, cannot safely ignore . . . The earnest citizen who wishes to see at least one international situation dealt with clearly and courageously will find in this small book precisely what he is seeking."

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"This book will do as much toward an understanding of Russia as anything that has been published. It should be read by every thoughtful American."

E. GEORGE PAYNE, *dean, School of Education, New York University*

"No exaggeration is possible of the importance of the topic treated. It deserves close reading by every American."

MARK STARR, *educational director, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*

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April, 1943

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AFT Officials Meet with Representatives of AFL, CIO and NEA.

George Guernsey, Editor
American Teacher
506 South Wabash Ave.
Chicago, Illinois

(A Telegram From Washington, D.C.)

Have just concluded historically significant conference in Washington, D. C. Matthew Woll, vice-president and chairman of Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor; Florence Thorne, research director of the AFL; Eugene Cotton, assistant counsel of the CIO; J. Raymond Walsh, research and educational director of the CIO; A. C. Flora, president of the National Education Association; Willard E. Givens, executive secretary of the NEA; Alonzo F. Myers, chairman of the National Committee, Defense of Democracy through Education of the NEA; Donald DuShane, secretary of that Committee; Selma Borchardt, vice-president and Washington representative of the American Federation of Teachers; Irvin R. Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer of the AFT; John Connors, vice-president and field representative of the AFT; John M. Fewkes, president of the AFT, were present and discussed teacher shortage, financial problems of public schools, child labor, juvenile delinquency, schools and organized labor. Agreed emergency federal aid immediately necessary. Hoped that jointly sponsored federal aid bill may be agreed upon in subsequent conference.

JOHN M. FEWKES, national president, AFT.

Secretary-Treasurer's Page

Labor's Beveridge Plan for the United States

One of the most vital phases of the national economy both in the people's war and the people's peace is the scientific elimination of all types of social insecurity. Great Britain, in the midst of total war, anticipating a post war period of economic chaos no less dangerous to the national welfare than the war itself, appointed an Interdepartmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services with Sir William Beveridge as chairman. The Report of the committee, based on months of study and examination of numerous proposals submitted by various groups and organizations, has attracted international attention.

Fundamentally the Beveridge Plan represents a sweeping consolidation and extension of social security services for the purpose of eliminating all major sources of *want* in the post war society. The Report is predicated upon the conclusion that the basic causes of social suffering are old age, unemployment, disability—temporary or permanent—and the necessity of supporting *larger than average* families on wage scales geared to average families. In addition, therefore, to an extensive scheme of old age, disability, and unemployment insurance, the committee proposes to establish a bonus paid from federal funds for the support of children. Thus the family income is adjusted to the size of the family not by wage scales graduated to the number of dependents but through federal grants to families depending on the number of children.

As Bryn Roberts, general secretary of the British Municipal Employees' Union (and fraternal delegate to the 1942 AFL Convention at Toronto), points out in a recent editorial in the official journal of the union, the Beveridge Report represents essentially an adoption and extension of the program of workers' protection which trade unions have built up over the years. In addition to the humanitarian concept of providing for the welfare of the common man in the post war society, the Plan is designed to bridge the wide economic gulf between war and peace and to alleviate post war unemployment which is recognized as the most serious problem facing the British economy in the reconstruction period.

Members of the American Federation of Labor may take just pride in the fact that the AFL, which has been largely responsible for essentially all important social legislation in recent years, has again taken the lead in initiating legislation in the United States, designed to serve the same purpose as the Beveridge Plan of Great Britain. Admittedly less extensive in its coverage, the AFL plan nevertheless proposes significant improvements in the social security program which will not only assist in lessening want and insecurity in the post war period but also serve as a functional implementation of the war effort. Worked out carefully in accordance with recommendations of President Roosevelt, the AFL proposals were incorporated in the Eliot Bill, H.R. 7534, which was introduced in Congress during the last session.

The major provisions of the AFL plan are as follows:

1. Extension of coverage to approximately 11,500,000 agricultural workers and 2,500,000 domestic workers who are not now covered. Public employees—including teachers—are not included in the plan although more than three-fourths of the teachers of the nation are not covered by any type of retirement system.

2. Provision for disability benefits (both temporary and permanent) and hospital benefits.

3. Federalization of the unemployment system so that benefits may be equalized and the solvency of the total fund utilized on a national scale. Under the present plan there are 51 different systems in states and territories with weekly benefits which vary widely. Nearly 40 per cent of the payments throughout the nation in April-June 1941, for instance, were less than \$10.00 per week. In twelve states 75 per cent of the weekly payments were less than \$10.00. In 1940-41, 71 per cent of the weekly payments were less than \$15.00 per week.

4. Federalization of the employment agencies and extension of unemployment benefits to soldiers upon returning to civilian life to assist in the adjustment to peaceful pursuits and to take up the shock in the national economy when the war ceases.

5. Increase of assessments on both employer and employees to 5 per cent of the payroll. In terms of the immediate war effort this increase will assist in financing the war and at the same time reduce the amount to be secured by direct taxation. A 5 per cent investment in social security is a far better proposition for the worker and the employer than a direct tax of the same amount.

Both President Roosevelt and the American Federation of Labor have declared emphatically that the rights of teachers and other workers now under pension systems providing larger benefits than those under the social security program will be fully protected in any extension of the social security program in the United States.

IRVIN R. KUENZLI

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

American Teachers and A People's Peace

By JOHN L. CHILDS

**The chairman of the AFT
Commission on Education
and the Postwar World
outlines the tasks we face.**

DURING the last few months the prospect of a decisive victory over the forces of Fascism both in Europe and Asia has greatly improved. The demand of our leaders at the Casablanca conference for the "unconditional surrender" of the Axis is not to be regarded as merely another piece of war propaganda. It rather defines a considered war-purpose—a purpose which is backed by the demonstrated industrial, military and civilian strength of the United Nations. It is apparent that the combined power of the United Nations, if they maintain their unity, is sufficient to achieve a complete victory over the common foe.

Nor should we minimize the importance of this victory. It is now clear that American democracy, in the non-military form in which we have cherished it, could not long have survived had Fascism become dominant in Europe and Asia. Undoubtedly our entrance into the war turned the tide of the battle and averted this tragic outcome. In this respect the United States has definitely played a crucial part in the success of the United Nations. But we should not forget that during that fateful period when we were debating whether the war against the Fascist powers was in any imperative sense our own war, China, Britain and Russia, each, in turn, saved the situation. Without their heroic resistance the chance for ultimate victory might have passed before we were aware of our peril and were prepared to do our part to overcome it. The debt of our allies to us is great, but ours to them is no less great. No matter what the future course of the war may be, it is doubtful if our sacrifice will equal theirs.

Unqualified military victory is essential. Without the dissolution of the Fascist system, we would continue to live under the intolerable threat of its further aggression once its strength had been repaired. Military victory is thus primary in the program of the United Nations.

"But victory is not enough," as President Roosevelt observed in his talk to the International Students Assembly last September. If the common people of the world are to achieve any lasting good from this tragic struggle, it must be followed by a peace that organizes the world for mutual security, and for steady economic and cultural advance. Nor is it as yet at all sure that this kind of world will result from the military victory of the United Nations. In spite of the superb statements which our governmental leaders have made about the broad purposes for which we fight, we have a long way to go before these alluring promises are turned into concrete achievements. Indeed, many careful students of the international situation assert that as the prospect of winning the war improves, the prospect of building a new world according to the pattern of the Four Freedoms deteriorates. We do not need to adopt this cynical attitude in order to recognize that certain stubborn considerations lend some weight to this pessimistic interpretation.

Consider, for example, the case of Great Britain. She has signed both the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations. Her official leaders from time to time have spoken eloquently about a people's war and a people's peace. But in spite of earlier hopes, Britain has failed to reach an understanding with the national leaders of India, and her Prime Minister has re-interpreted the Atlantic Charter to remove India and Burma and other parts of the Empire from its provisions. Churchill has also bluntly stated that "we mean to hold our own." The news reports of the day on which this is written carry the further pronouncement from Oliver Stanley, British Colonial Secretary, in a speech made at Oxford University that "the first and fundamental principle in the administration of the British Colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain." Sir

Stafford Cripps, who favored a liberal settlement of the India problem, is no longer in the War Cabinet. Even the admirable Beveridge plan for a comprehensive program of social security has thus far failed to get the wholehearted endorsement of the British government.

Relations with Russia are also far from satisfactory. As yet we have no Supreme War Council, and no comprehensive understanding about how the war on all of the different fronts is to be conducted. No representative from the Soviet Union participated in the critically important discussions of the American and British leaders at Casablanca. Britain and the U.S.S.R. have been giving active support to rival national factions in Yugo-Slavia, and these factions have been engaged for months in bloody strife with one another. No agreements have been announced about the principles which are to govern armed occupations in those countries from which the Fascist forces are driven. If the United Nations are to serve as the international authority which organizes the peace—and there is no promising alternative—it is highly important that an early understanding with the Soviet Union be achieved on these crucial matters. Apart from such commonly accepted plans for the difficult transitional period, cooperation among the United Nations could easily degenerate into national competition, hostility and even open conflict.

Promising as the Anglo-Russian twenty-year mutual assistance treaty is, there has been to date no indication from the Soviet Union that she plans to renounce the agency of the Communist International and is prepared to abandon all further attempts to foster revolutionary movements in friendly foreign countries. It is difficult to see how the kind of understanding essential to wholehearted cooperation in the organization of the postwar world can be developed between the Soviet Union and the other United Nations so long as she clings to the purposes and the practices characteristic of this Communist International.

Certain tendencies in recent American thought and policy also are not encouraging. Thus far Congress has not given assurances that the pledges of our President in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms have their unqualified support. The ideals of Vice-President Wallace, which have won such wide popular sympathy, have been ridiculed in Congress by those who

are interested in making this "the American century" rather than "the century of the common man." In North Africa our dealings with Darlan, the appointment of Peyrouton as governor of Algeria, and the failure of General Giraud and General deGaulle to reach a genuine accord have aroused deep misgivings. These misgivings are strengthened when we recall that Secretary Stimson sent a letter to Otto Hapsburg in which he addressed the Archduke as "Otto of Austria," and approved his plan to recruit a "free Austrian" battalion in the United States. Further uncertainty about our foreign policy is aroused when our ambassador to Spain declares that our country is happy to extend "any help it can to Spain, which is doing so much with obvious success to develop a peace economy that can, and will, carry safely into a future period of world peace." Considerations of military expediency are undoubtedly a factor in all of this, but Franco, Peyrouton, and Otto Hapsburg are very poor symbols for a people's movement which aims to organize the world for a peace in harmony with the Four Freedoms. Although President Roosevelt has flatly stated these arrangements are temporary military expedients and carry no long-run implications, the question still persists as to whether immediate military programs and agreements and long-run political purposes and consequences can thus sharply be divorced.

On the domestic side the situation also has its reactionary tendencies. Some of the members of the new Congress seem more interested in fighting President Roosevelt than the Fascist foe. The Dies Committee has been authorized to continue its reckless attacks on those whose political views involve important social and economic reconstruction. Big business and financial interests have a firm grip on many of the government boards in control of war production. In spite of the Executive Order calling for fair employment practice, many discriminations still operate against certain categories of workers. Criticism of organized labor is growing in volume, and a persistent effort is being made in and outside of Congress to weaken the position of labor. Still more serious is the increasing disharmony between leaders of farm organizations and leaders of labor. Confronted with all of these problems and demands, the organized labor movement is still split into factions, and hence unable to bring its united strength to

bear on either domestic or foreign policies.

That these difficulties exist both in our domestic affairs, and in the internal relations of the United Nations cannot be denied by any informed or candid observer. We have no desire to minimize their seriousness. But do they signify, as some assume, that the struggle to turn the vast suffering and sacrifice of this war into a meaningful people's peace has already been lost? Our Commission on Education and the Postwar World is not ready to accept such a fatalistic view of the long-run possibilities. We have prepared this special number of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* in order to call the attention of teachers and workers to both the threats and the possibilities in the situation which now confront us. While the nature of the peace which is to follow this war is by no means to be taken for granted, we believe the national and the international situation is not without its brighter side.

In the first place, the problems of the war have rightfully been a primary charge on the thought and energy of our most responsible national leaders. That under their leadership we have developed a powerful, efficiently planned organization for waging the war is increasingly apparent, and the encouraging turn events have taken on the different fighting fronts is evidence of the strength of their achievements in this critically important part of the total task. Moreover, such recent statements as we have had from our most responsible governmental leaders indicate that their purposes are still concerned with achieving a people's peace. The proposal of our State Department for a conference of the representatives of the United Nations to work out common plans for the postwar period is of primary importance.

In the second place, there is also more recognition of the fact that in our interdependent world the United States cannot continue its historic policy of isolationism. Indeed, the real choice for America is no longer one of isolation versus collective security; it is rather a choice between some form of American or Anglo-American imperialism on the one hand, and a genuine democratic system of mutual security on the other. It is clear that the resolution which calls on the Congress to affirm publicly that it does not desire to have the United States withdraw from world responsibilities once the Axis is defeated commands broad popular support.

In the third place, the vast productive powers

of our economy have made a profound impression on the thought of the people of our country. The principle of full employment has gained wide endorsement, and the demand that production be organized consciously to meet human needs is growing in strength. Even the conception of social and economic planning is now winning assent from groups which have long opposed it. The basic issue today is not planning versus *laissez-faire*, but rather—who is to do the planning, and for what purposes? One thing is certain: it will not be easy to get the American people to adjust to an economy of scarcity now that they have had, during the war, a demonstration of what our agricultural and industrial productive possibilities really are. An expanded program of social security is also clearly in the making.

In the fourth place, the billion and more people of the East have been deeply stirred by democratic conceptions, and they are moving with great determination to achieve a more equal position. If we are to have peace, the just aspirations of these peoples must be met, for they will not easily consent to a return to the former colonial status. Already the United States and Britain have negotiated new treaties with China designed to do away with the regime of special privilege under the system of extraterritoriality. It is obvious that in the postwar world the decision about what is to be the future economic and political arrangement in the East will not reside exclusively with the powers of the West. Regardless of bold phrases to the effect that we are going "to hold what we have," strong popular tides are moving which can neither be ignored nor successfully resisted. If we are wise we will cooperate with these forces, not oppose them.

In the fifth place, the United States will be in a position of unique influence once armed hostilities are over. Much of the world will look to us for food and for help in rebuilding its shattered peace-time mode of living. Our military strength also will be great, particularly in the air, and on the seas. Our military, diplomatic and rehabilitation agencies will be in a position to exert powerful influence in determining the character of the new domestic authorities which are to arise in many different regions. We can, if we want, do much to strengthen popular forces and control; we shall end in disaster if we seek to prop up ancient autocratic and exploitive regimes. Great will be our power, equally great will be our responsibility. The best guarantee we

can offer that our purposes are disinterested will be to demonstrate that we are ready to work under a common plan democratically evolved by the representatives of the United Nations in cooperation with the peoples who have been subjected to Hitler's and Japan's aggressions.

Finally, the aims of our leaders in this struggle have been formulated with much greater realism than was the case twenty-five years ago. We now perceive, as Wendell Willkie has stated, that "political internationalism without economic internationalism is a house built upon sand." American liberals are also much more informed about the world situation and the complexity of the problem of achieving a just and lasting peace. They realize that to achieve a just and lasting peace more than praise of peace and good intentions are required, for the problem is one of concrete means as well as of ideal ends. They know also that no formal legal approach to the problem of peace is at all adequate. They recognize that the re-organization of economic and political institutions and the use of power is necessarily involved. The almost universal recognition that the United Nations—particularly Britain, China, Russia and the United States—must take a primary role in the organization of the postwar world is tacit acceptance of the fact that factors of national interest, and of industrial and military power cannot be ignored if we are to organize a stable peace. The central problem is how to lift these "power" factors to a higher plane in a system of mutual security—a cooperative plan designed to improve the condition of the common man in all parts of the world, and to give him a share in shaping the civilization under which he works out his career.

This difficult and complex problem of winning the peace has definite meaning for education and labor, and hence for the American Federation of Teachers. Neither democratic education, nor free labor unions, has any promising future in a world organized for aggression and war. The most urgent need of each is for a world devoted to the ways of peace, mutual security, and democratic, economic and cultural progress. To create that kind of world calls for statesmanship in the re-shaping of institutions, and for education in the redirection of the ideas, beliefs and values of individuals. This situation has its implications for teachers both in their work within the schools, and in their role as citizens and members of the worker's movement of our

country. In later reports our Commission will return to the implications of world reconstruction for our work within the schools.

We live in a fateful period. Within the next five or ten years decisions will have been made, and institutions will have been created, which will determine whether our world is on the road to peace, or the road to further and more destructive wars. Education should pretend to no neutrality about these issues which reach to the very foundations of our civilization. Neither should they assume that these issues are to be settled primarily by the children they now teach in the classrooms. The situation is too urgent for that. Long before most of the pupils in the schools have reached maturity and positions of influence, the main patterns of the post-war world will have been determined.

Hence the first clear implication for us as teachers is that attention must now be given to parents as well as to children, to those who are citizens as well as to those who are to become citizens, to the political processes of our local community, our state, and our nation, as well as to the affairs of the classroom.

The second implication is that an adult educational program to be effectual at this time must be deliberately designed to throw light on the choices which our nation must make with regard to its postwar plans and responsibilities. In this connection the national election of 1944 will have far-reaching significance. It should be our aim to raise this momentous political campaign to the educational level so that the nature of the real choices now confronting us will be clarified, not confused and concealed. The extent to which the United States will measure up to its unprecedented opportunity in the making of the peace will be determined in no small measure by the patterns of national policy which are wrought out in this national election.

For us as teachers linked with labor this situation carries its very definite meanings. Our locals should shape their programs to make the most of it. Now is the time to begin before party primaries and conventions have shaped their policies and selected their candidates. Fortunately these are national issues that cut across the conventional party lines. Our aim should be to see that the people's peace is not lost, regardless of the particular party label of the group that takes over the responsibility of government after the next national election.

The Official War and Peace Aims

The Documents of the United Nations



I. The Atlantic Charter

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved

labor standards, economic adjustment, and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

London and Washington

August 14, 1941

II. Declaration by the United Nations

A joint declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

1. Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.
2. Each government pledges itself to cooperate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Washington, January 1, 1942.

III. The Four Freedoms

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understanding which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Washington, January 6, 1941

IV. Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance

Article I.

In virtue of the alliance established between the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to afford one another military and other assistance and support of all kinds in the war against Germany and all those States which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article II.

The High Contracting Parties undertake not to enter into any negotiations with the Hitlerite Government or any other Government in Germany that does not clearly renounce all aggressive intentions, and not to negotiate or conclude except by mutual consent any armistice or peace treaty with Germany or any other State associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article III.

1. The High Contracting Parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded States in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post war period.

2. Pending the adoption of such proposals, they will after the termination of hostilities take all the measures in their power to render impossible a repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Germany or any of the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article IV.

Should one of the High Contracting Parties during the post war period become involved in hostilities with Germany or any of the States

mentioned in Article III (2) in consequence of an attack by that State against that Party, the other High Contracting Party will at once give to the Contracting Party so involved in hostilities all the military and other support and assistance in his power. This article shall remain in force until the High Contracting Parties, by mutual agreement, shall recognize that it is superseded by the adoption of the proposals contemplated

in Article III (1). In default of the adoption of such proposals, it shall remain in force for a period of twenty years, and thereafter until terminated by either High Contracting Party, as provided in Article VIII.

Article V.

The High Contracting Parties, having regard to the interests of the security of each of them,



(1) William Green, president of the AFL, testifies before a Congressional committee on labor's contribution to the war; (2) labor groups support full use of our manpower, regardless of race, creed, or color, to win the war; (3) elderly Norwegian machinist at work in Canada; (4) the National War Labor Board; (5) International Harvester workers leaving the plant after spending a national holiday on the job. Labor has submerged its special interest in the common task of full production for victory over Fascism.



agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration after the re-establishment of peace for the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe. They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects and they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

London, May 26, 1942.

V. Lend-Lease Master Agreement Between the United States and Britain

The same or similar agreements have been signed by 29 other countries.

Article VII.

In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the government of the United Kingdom in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provisions for agreed action by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; and, in general, to the attainment of all economic objectives set forth in the Joint Declaration made on August 12, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between the two governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded governments.

March 11, 1941 (Authorized)

VI. The Rio Declaration on the Good Neighbor Policy

WHEREAS:

1. Relations among nations, if they are to have foundations which will assure an international order under law, must be based on the essential and universal principle of justice;

2. The standard proclaimed and observed by the U.S. of America to the effect that its international policy must be founded on that of the "good neighbor" is a general criterion of right and a source of guidance in the relations between States, and this well-conceived policy prescribes respect for the fundamental rights of States as well as cooperation between them for the welfare of international society and

3. This policy has been one of the elements contributing to the present solidarity of the Americas and their joint cooperation in the solution of outstanding problems of the Continent.

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics

Declares:

That the principle that international conduct must be inspired by the policy of the good neighbor is a norm of international law of the American Continent.

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
January 28, 1942

VII. Executive Order 8802

Reaffirming policy of full participation in the defense program by all persons, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, and directing certain action in furtherance of said policy.

. . . . I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

All contracting agencies of the government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Washington, June 25, 1941

The PEOPLE'S CHARTER

Labor and Education Must Help Our Leaders Keep These Promises.

I. Our Pledge to the Young

"We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you now and in the future. We will not let you down. We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a job. The solution of such a problem cannot be left as it was the last time to mere chance.

"This government has accepted responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who are willing and able but who could not find work. That responsibility will continue after the war; and when you come home we do not propose to involve you as last time in a domestic mess of our own making. . . .

"Victory is essential, but victory is not enough for you or for us. We must be sure that when you have won the victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain—that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want—that in your schools only the living truth will be taught—that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

To the International Students' Assembly
Washington, September 3, 1942

II. Our Objectives — Democracy, World Peace and a Dynamic Economy

"We can all agree on our objectives and in our common determination that work, fair play and social security after the war is won must be firmly established for the people of the United States of America.

"Men in the armed forces and all those engaged in the war effort rightly expect us to be considering their future welfare.

"We fight today for security for our nation and at the same time we can endeavor to give our citizens and their families security against attacks from without, and against fear of economic distress in old age, in poverty, sickness, involuntary unemployment and accidental injuries. We need to look forward to the accomplishment of these objectives—world peace, democratic society and a dynamic economy. . . .

"Because of their basic importance to our national welfare during the war and after the war, it is my earnest hope that the Congress will give these matters full consideration during this session. We must not return to the inequities, insecurity and fears of the past, but ought to move forward toward the promise of the future. When the Congress has agreed on procedures for the



Roosevelt



Churchill



Chiang Kai-shek



Stalin



Welles



Hoover



Benes



Cripps



Hull

consideration of these problems, the executive agencies responsible for the administration of programs in these fields are prepared to provide the Congress with all assistance within their power in devising appropriate ways and means of accomplishing these high purposes."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
Washington, March 10, 1943

III. The Public and the Peace

"Without impediment to the fullest prosecution of the war—indeed, for its most effective prosecution—the United Nations should from time to time, as they did in adopting the Atlantic Charter, formulate and proclaim their common views regarding fundamental policies which will chart for mankind a wise course based on enduring spiritual values.

"In support of such policies, an informed public opinion must be developed. This is a task of intensive study, hard thinking, broad vision and leadership—not for governments alone, but especially for parents, and teachers, and clergymen, and all those, within each nation, who provide spiritual, moral and intellectual guidance. Never did so great and so compelling a duty in this respect devolve upon those who are in position of responsibility, public and private."

CORDELL HULL
Washington, July 23, 1942

IV. The Century of the Common Man

"The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England but also in India, Russia, China and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations but also in Germany and Italy and Japan.

"Some have spoken of the 'American century.' I say that the century on which we are entering, the century which will come out of this war, can

be and must be the century of the common man.

"Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to suggest the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live. Everywhere the common man must learn to build his own industries with his own hands in a practical fashion. Everywhere the common man must learn to increase his productivity so that he and his children can eventually pay to the world community all that they have received.

"No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism. The methods of the 19th century will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin."

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE
New York, May 8, 1942

V. Fascism Bred in Poverty and Unemployment

"The unity of purpose of our peoples in the common war effort will be carried over to help us in the common social effort that must follow this war. You who suffered so deeply in the long depression years know that we must move on a great social offensive if we are to win the war completely. Anti-Fascism is not a short term military job. It was bred in poverty and unemployment. To crush Fascism at its roots we must crush depression. We must solemnly resolve that in the future we will not tolerate the economic evils which breed poverty and war.

"When war is done, the drive for tanks must become a drive for houses. The drive for food to prevent the enemy from starving us, must become a drive for food to satisfy the needs of all people in all countries. The drive for physical fitness in the forces must become a drive for bringing death and sickness rates in the whole population down to the lowest possible level. The

drive for manpower in war must become a drive for employment to make freedom from want a living reality. The drive for an all-out war effort by the United Nations must become a drive for an all-out peace effort, based on the same cooperation and willingness to sacrifice."

AMBASSADOR WINANT

Durham, England, June 6, 1942

VI. Economic and Political Internationalism

"After the last war the peace failed because no joint objectives upon which it could be based had been arrived at in the minds of the people. The League of Nations was created full-blown; and men and women, having developed no joint purpose except to defeat a common enemy, fell into capricious and irrelevant arguments about its structural form. Likewise, it failed because it was primarily an Anglo-French-American solution, retaining the old colonial imperialisms under new and fancy terms. It took inadequate account of the pressing needs of the Far East, nor did it sufficiently seek solution of the economic problems of the world. Its attempts to solve the world's problems were primarily political. But political internationalism without economic internationalism is a house built upon sand. For no nation can reach its fullest development alone. There were those among us prior to this war who entertained the notion that America was an exception to this economic law; that America was economically self-sufficient. The war must surely have dissipated such ideas."

WENDELL WILLKIE

New York, November 16, 1942

VII. The World Responsibility of the United States

"We will recognize no peace with our enemies except peace with victory and we will never entertain any proposals of peace until such victory be

won. There shall be no appeasement or compromise.

"We realize that after this war the responsibility of the nation will not be circumscribed within the territorial limits of the United States; that our nation has an obligation to assist in the bringing about of understanding, comity and cooperation among the nations of the world in order that our own liberty may be preserved and that the blighting and destructive processes of war may not again be forced upon us and upon the free and peace-loving peoples of the earth."

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chicago, April 20, 1942

VIII. The Foundations of Lasting Peace

"Out of these discussions in America there are certain propositions upon which I think there is now fairly general acceptance:

"1. The major purpose of this unutterable sacrifice, suffering and death is to win a lasting peace for mankind, and we are resolute that this time we must make a peace which assures freedom among men.

"2. Lasting peace cannot be attained unless there be cooperation between nations to maintain it.

"3. There must be definite machinery for that purpose."

HERBERT HOOVER

Chicago, November 5, 1942

IX. Prime Minister Churchill on the Atlantic Charter

"First, the Joint Declaration does not try to explain how the broad principles proclaimed by it are to be applied to each and every case, which will have to be dealt with when the war comes to an end. It would not be wise for us, at this moment, to be drawn into laborious discussions



Wilhelmina



Nash



King



Winant



Gandhi



Wallace



Hu Shih



Willkie



Eden

on how it is to fit all the manifold problems with which we shall be faced after the war. Secondly, the Joint Declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma, or other parts of the British Empire. We are pledged by the Declaration of August, 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth with ourselves, subject, of course, to the fulfillment of obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests. Burma also is covered by our considered policy of establishing Burmese self-government and by the measures already in progress. At the Atlantic meeting, we had in mind, primarily, the restoration of sovereignty, self-government, and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke and the principles governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown. We have made declarations on these matters which are complete in themselves, free from ambiguity and related to the conditions and circumstances of the territories and peoples affected. They will be found to be entirely in harmony with the high conception of freedom and justice which inspired the Joint Declaration."

WINSTON CHURCHILL
London, September 9, 1941

X. Foreign Secretary Eden on New Productive Powers

"Industry has reached a stage in which there is no necessity for anyone in the world to go short of food, or to lack the means to build for themselves a better life. The problem is to organize a full production and an equitable distribution for all. Only decently fed and healthy people can work effectively for a better world. This will not

be a short or an easy task; it will require the co-operation of every nation, each according to its capacity and experience."

ANTHONY EDEN
Nottingham, England, July 23, 1942

XI. Inequality and the Post-war World

"This is in reality a peoples war, a peoples war of liberation. Each one of us is right in the front line, each one of us is partaking to the full—or we should be—in the dangers and the efforts which mark its prosecution. And so we all claim right to a say in what shall happen after the war, because we are fighting not only to prevent our country's being subjected to the cruel brutality of Hitlerism but also to create after the war a better and happier world for all—not merely for some privileged sections of humanity.

"Nationally and internationally we want to see a world consciously planned for a better standard of living for the great masses of the people, whether British, Russian, American, Chinese, or of any other race. . . .

"There must be, after this war, none of those gross inequalities that were the aftermath of the last war, none of that disgraceful contrast of great poverty and great wealth, and no vast bands of heroic defenders of our country walking the streets in the vain search for a livelihood."

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS
London, May 3, 1942

XII. Production to Satisfy Human Need

"I believe the war is teaching us that the obstacles to full employment were not real obstacles: that a partnership of management, of workers and of the community can make useful work available in time of peace no less than in time of war, for all who need or want to work.

"When the war is won, there will be an immense task to repair the great physical destruction caused by war; there will be a pent-up demand for all the goods and services which are increasingly denied in war time; there will be the huge task of providing food for the starving peoples of the old world. These tasks alone will provide work for millions of men and women for many years.

"But the work of repairing and restoring the ravages of war will not be enough. Fortunately, we are also learning that the only limit to our productive capacity is the limit of our resources and our will and skill to use them to satisfy human need instead of human greed."

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING

Toronto, October 9, 1942

XIII. Social and Economic Aims for India

"If the British withdrew from India, India would be able to defend herself in the event of the Japanese, or any aggressor, attacking India. The committee is, therefore, of the opinion that the British should withdraw from India. . . .

"Whether the British remain or not, it is our duty always to wipe out our unemployment, to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor, to banish communal strife, to exorcise the demon of untouchability, to reform the Dacoits (armed bandits) and save the people from them. If scores of people do not take a living interest in this nation—building work, freedom must remain a dream and unattainable by either non-violence or violence."

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

New Delhi, India, April 27, 1942

XIV. Collective Planning Now A Necessity

"And when the war is over, there must be no retreat. There must be no return to an era when want, poverty and unemployment were accepted as inevitable.

"It is likely enough that the war will cause an acute shortage of food and necessities in many countries for some time to come. But at least we can see to it that ability to produce on the one hand and the need to consume on the other hand are linked together in some way for the benefit of all. Economic individualism cannot solve this problem. It will take collective planning both to make the best of our resources and to ensure that human needs are satisfied.

"If we fail to achieve this then the war will have been fought in vain and may be fought again. This must not happen. We simply cannot afford to risk a third such visitation in our lifetime or the lifetime of our children.

"It is for us—the democratic peoples—convinced as we are that our fight is a fight for progress against reaction to see that the peace is planned as carefully as the war is planned."

WALTER NASH

New Zealand Minister

Washington, March 22, 1942

XV. Premier Stalin on the Logic of Things

"It is said that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has every chance of winning and will certainly win if it did not have one organic defect which is capable of weakening and disintegrating it.

"This defect, in the opinion of these people, is that this coalition consists of heterogeneous elements with different ideologies and that this circumstance will prevent their organizing joint action against the common enemy.

"I think this assertion is wrong. It would be ridiculous to deny the difference in ideologies and social systems of the countries composing the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. But does this preclude the possibility and expediency of joint action on the part of members of this coalition against the common enemy who holds out the threat of enslavement for them? It certainly does not.

"More than that, the existence of this threat imperatively imposes the necessity of joint action upon the members of the coalition in order to save mankind from a reversion to savagery and medieval brutality.

"Is not the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition a sufficient basis for the organization of the joint struggle against the Hitlerite tyranny and for the achievement of victory over it? I think that it is quite sufficient. . . .

"There can be no doubt that all these facts point to progressive rapprochement between the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States of America, who today are uniting in a fighting alliance against the Italo-German coalition.

"It follows that the logic of things is stronger than any other logic. There can be only one conclusion, namely, that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has every chance of vanquishing the

Italo-German coalition, and certainly will vanquish it.

"Thus our tasks—the war has torn off all veils and laid bare all relationships. The situation has become so clear that nothing is easier than to define our tasks in this war."

JOSEPH STALIN

Moscow, November 6, 1942

XVI. The War Aims of the Soviet Union

"As for the international relations of our country, they have grown as never before during the last period. Freedom-loving peoples have joined together against German imperialism. They look to the Soviet Union, to the heroic struggle that the people of our country are waging for its liberty and independence, which calls forth applause from all progressive humanity.

"All freedom-loving peoples look on the Soviet Union as a free bastion of the world attacked by Fascists. Among these freedom-loving nations, first place is held by Great Britain and the United States, with whom we are linked by ties of friendship and solidarity and who give our country ever greater war assistance against the German-Fascist aggressor. . . .

"What are our gallant men talking about? They say that we must strike at the German-Fascist aggressors until they are completely destroyed.

"Comrades! We are fighting the war for our country! For justice and freedom! We have no aim of seizing foreign territory or conquering foreign peoples. Our aim is clear and honorable. We want to free our Soviet land from the German-Fascist beasts. We want to free our brother Ukrainians, Moldavians, White Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Karelians from the insults to which they have been subjected by the German-Fascist beasts."

JOSEPH STALIN

Moscow, May 1, 1942

XVII. Chiang Kai-shek on India

"The Indian and Chinese peoples should give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and the Joint Declaration of the twenty-six United Nations and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. The vast majority of world opinion was in full sympathy with India's aspirations for freedom. I hope and believe that Britain without waiting for any

demand on the part of the people of India would as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they would be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength."

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

New Delhi, India, February 21, 1942

XVIII. Power and Peace

"The new world order which we want to set up after this terrible war must be a 'League to Enforce Peace.' It must be an international organization based upon the principle of a threat of overwhelming power to prevent aggressive wars. It must command a sufficient amount of internationally organized and internationally supported force for the effective enforcement of its own law and judgment."

HU SHIH, Former Ambassador
to the United States

Wellesley, June 15, 1942

XIX. The Role of China in Asia

"Among our friends there has been recently some talk of China emerging as the leader of Asia, as if China wished the mantle of an unworthy Japan to fall on her shoulders. Having herself been a victim of exploitation, China has infinite sympathy for the submerged nations of Asia, and toward them China feels she has only responsibilities—not rights. We repudiate the idea of leadership of Asia because the 'fuehrer principle' has been synonymous for domination and exploitation, precisely as the 'east Asia co-prosperity sphere' has stood for a race of mythical supermen lording over groveling subject races.

"China has no desire to replace western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own or of any one else. We hold that we must advance from the narrow idea of exclusive alliances and regional blocs, which in the end make for bigger and better wars, to effective organization of world unity. Unless real world-cooperation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the new interdependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us."

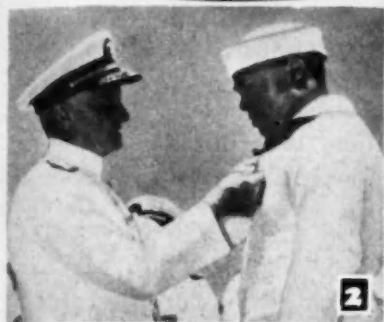
GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

New York, November 17, 1942

XX. Queen Wilhelmina Proposes Reconstruction

"Although it is beyond doubt that a political reconstruction of the kingdom as a whole and of the Netherlands and the overseas territories as its

The United Nations in War and Peace



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(1) Wallace and Eden confer on the latter's recent visit (Acme photo); (2) Doris Miller, Pearl Harbor hero, receives the Navy Cross; (3) Roosevelt at Casablanca (OWI photo); (4) Hull and the Chinese Ambassador at the recent signing of the lend-lease agreement.

parts, is a natural evolution, it would be neither right nor possible to define its precise form at this moment.

"I realize that much which is great and good is growing in the Netherlands despite the pressure of the occupation—I know that this is the case in the Indies where our unity is fortified by common suffering.

"These developing ideas can only be shaped in free consultation in which both parts of the kingdom will want to take cognizance of each other's opinions.

"Moreover, the population of the Netherlands and of the Netherlands Indies has confirmed through its suffering and its resistance, its right to participate in the decision regarding the form of our groups of the population towards themselves and one another.

"By working out these matters now, that right would be neglected, and the insight which my people have obtained through bitter experience would be disregarded.

"I am convinced, and history as well as reports

from the occupied territories confirm me in this, that after the war it will be possible to reconstruct the kingdom on the solid foundation of complete partnership, which will mean the consummation of all that has been developed in the past.

"I know that no political unity or national cohesion can continue to exist which are not supported by the voluntary acceptance and the faith of the great majority of the citizenry."

QUEEN WILHELMINA

London, December 6, 1942

XXI. The Principles for which We Fight

"In the first place we are fighting for certain moral values. We are taking part in the war between democracy and dictatorship. We are fighting for the democratic way of life in which the Anglo-Saxons have been the pioneers. Such a way of life is fundamentally opposed to the cultural and moral barbarism which the Nazis expressed in their repudiation of freedom for the in-

dividual and the citizen, of human dignity and equality, in the domination of weaker peoples and in the violation of treaties and the pledged word. We are fighting, in fact, for some sort of international charter which shall embody the rights of man and be applicable to the people of all countries.

"Secondly, we are fighting for a new social and economic order. It has often been said that a war merely accelerates tendencies and natural processes, and there is not the slightest doubt that the consequences of the present war, whether we like them or not, will be far-reaching and, perhaps, revolutionary. The war of 1939 is really a continuation of the war of 1914, and some of the problems shelved at the Peace Conference must be faced now. Some of these social and economic problems are on a scale so vast that States must be linked together if there is to be any solution. The democratic process, so widely accepted in the political sphere, must be applied just as wholeheartedly to the social and economic sphere.

"Thirdly, we are fighting in the belief that we shall guarantee the future peace, that we shall fashion the right system of collective security and fulfil in the most effective manner the tasks which after the last war we left to the League of Nations.

"Fourthly, we are fighting for a political reorganization of Europe and the world; this, therefore, involves the post war Germany, post war Central Europe, the situation of Italy and of the Balkans, of the Mediterranean, the destiny of France and her Empire, the reorganization of Western and Northern Europe, the new status in the Far East, in Africa and so on. On the whole it is the same as that which President Roosevelt has defined in his so-called 'Four Freedoms.'"

EDUARD BENES

London, May 12, 1942

XXII. The Time for United Study Already Overdue

"I believe that if the United Nations were to set up machinery for the purpose of assembling and studying all international aspects of problems under the general heading of freedom from want, and for assembling all the pertinent facts and considerations relating thereto, and for jointly analyzing all facts and considerations relating to measures or policies proposed for furthering the end in view, the controversies and conflicts of policy which have so long embittered relations in

the international economic field, and therefore generally, might largely disappear.

"If the analysis were thorough enough, and the problems of each country were fully understood by the others, solutions could be found that would serve the interests of all concerned. Nothing is more clear to my mind than this: if all aspects of an economic problem were explored, it would become apparent that the basic interests of all countries are largely common interests, that each country's economic problems are related to, and inseparable from, those of the others.

"A United Nations study such as I have in mind would explore in a careful, thorough and systematic way world problems in the economic field, toward the solution of which much progress must be made if we are to have anything approaching the goal of freedom from want in our own countries or elsewhere.

"People and governments here and everywhere are studying these problems, are searching for solutions. The plans of one government or group of governments may seem sound enough in the light of their own interests, but may contain flaws which are visible only from the viewpoint of other governments or countries.

"If the study to which I have referred did no more than detect and focus attention on such flaws, if it did no more than prevent the crystallization in one country or group of countries of ideas which are objectionable from the viewpoint of others, it would serve a highly useful purpose.

"It is, however, my hope and belief that a United Nations undertaking such as I have suggested would be able to formulate plans and recommendations of a constructive sort—to find, so to speak, common denominators which, in the net, would be advantageous to all.

"Failing to begin such organized study and discussion now, there is danger that divergent views and policies may become crystallized, to the detriment of the common war effort, and to the detriment of efforts to bring about a peace that will be more than a brief and uneasy interlude before another even more horrible and more destructive war devastates and depopulates the world.

"My government believes that the initiation of such studies is already overdue. If we do not make a start now, there is danger that we shall be brought together to make the peace with as many plans as there are governments."

SUMNER WELLES

Toronto, February 26, 1942

Thomas Jefferson and the Patterns of American Democracy

By MERLE CURTI

A leading American historian examines the meaning of Jefferson's philosophy for today.

IN THESE PERILOUS TIMES we need to gather whatever strength we can. Out of the past many voices still speak to us, and we are free to listen, to select those that seem most truly great, those that promise to illuminate our problems. Jefferson is unmistakably such a voice. Born just two hundred years ago, he formulated, better than any of the founders of the nation, American democratic philosophy. Much in Jefferson's democratic ideology may now seem obsolete, for the decentralized, rural and isolated America which helped shape his ideas has given way to a centralized, interdependent, industrial America, encompassed by a greatly shrunk world. Furthermore, modern social science casts grave doubt on many of the concepts which figured centrally in Jefferson's thought. In spite of these considerations, Jeffersonian democracy can illuminate our understanding and fortify us in our struggle to preserve, strengthen and extend our democratic heritage.

Jefferson himself wished to be remembered by three of his innumerable achievements, the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia statute of religious freedom, and the University of Virginia. All exemplified his fundamental conception of democracy, and the ideas which each embodied should be of interest to American teachers and to all other workers engaged today in the maintenance and extension of American democracy.

The Declaration of Independence was, of course, a summary of widely held beliefs. But Jefferson crystallized these beliefs in words of great power and beauty, words which convey, after all is said and done, truths which have endured and which we feel must endure. Just before the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson wrote that it was intended "to be an expression of the American mind." It was, and still is. The Declaration of Independence advanced the creed that all men are created equal, endowed with certain inherent and inalienable rights. Among these Jefferson selected for emphasis the rights to life, liberty and

the pursuit of happiness. Government, he said, exists to provide for, to guarantee, these basic human rights. Whatever government does must be constantly tested by this criterion: is this act necessary and desirable for the promotion of the freedom and happiness of all?

Implicit in the Declaration of Independence is a conception of human nature and society. Like other disciples of the Enlightenment, Jefferson believed that human nature is, in essence, good and capable of functioning rationally and intelligently. Insofar as human beings are enabled to realize these good and intelligent potentialities, society will improve; and insofar as society permits and encourages men to be intelligent and rational, they will be so. Thus Jefferson, while emphasizing as the ultimate end of society the freedom and happiness of all individuals, was not a mere individualist: he recognized that man is a social animal; that he is affected by the society in which he lives; that to be free, to be happy, he must live in a society governed by intelligence rather than force, by the goal of the good life for all men, rather than for any particular group of men. Jefferson, moreover, had great respect for and confidence in the common people. "Our ancestors who migrated hither were laborers, not lawyers," Jefferson remarked. "I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom." On another occasion, he declared that he would never swerve from his purpose of fortifying public liberty by putting "it out of the power of the few to riot on the labors of the many."

The natural right philosophy, the doctrine that held all men possess inalienable, God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, began to meet with criticism while Jefferson was still living. Apologists for slavery and for other forms of property appealed to the rising historical school of institutionalism in their attack on the whole natural rights philosophy of the Declaration—its "glittering generalities" were condemned alike by "the lords of the lash" and "the

lords of the loom," or by their spokesmen. Nevertheless the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence was consistently appealed to by men in their struggles for liberty and happiness—by men in the Old World in their revolutionary contests; by the first urban workers' organizations that emerged in the eastern seaboard states in the 1820's by advocates of the emancipation of women from legal, political, educational and social restrictions; by almost every other group of reformers, from the utopian socialists to Henry George, the Populists, and the New Dealers. In our own day, when totalitarianism has made such rapid headway, the basic concept of the natural rights philosophy is still capable of being used as a potent instrument in the struggle for freedom and happiness of all men. It is quite possible, as Carl Wittke has so persuasively argued, to accept the conclusions of cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, and political scientists regarding the unhistorical basis of the contractual origin of the state and society, on which the natural rights of men rested, without abandoning the concept of inalienable and natural rights in an ethical and moral sense. In this sense there are moral and ethical values, such as the dignity, freedom, rationality, and potential happiness of all individuals, regardless of race, creed, or status, which are highly useful criteria by which to check the laws of men, the policies of government, policies which have inevitably and necessarily expanded over a greater area of life than in Jefferson's day.

The second monument by which Jefferson asked to be remembered was the Virginia statute of religious freedom. This separated church and state and guaranteed man's right—his natural right—to worship as he pleased, without interference by his neighbors or by the state. "It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others," wrote Jefferson. In our own day, when the value of religious freedom has been rejected in great portions of the earth, it is well to recall the fact that America led the way toward this freedom, a freedom which has unquestionably promoted man's happiness here and elsewhere, and which cannot be forfeited, as Jefferson so well appreciated, without endangering man's well-being.

American teachers and working people have an especial interest in the concept of education which Jefferson advanced, and which was an intimate and indispensable part of his democracy.

Jefferson believed that "if a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." Only through shared intelligence can men and women participate successfully in the direction of their own lives, individually, and in relation to the lives of their fellows. Jefferson held that in the conduct of local school affairs each local "public" or community acquired a training in self-government necessary for the proper exercise of full participation in the government of state and nation. Fearing centralization and the development of administrative authority, Jefferson hoped that education might be kept largely in the hands of communities. In addition to the social and democratic values of publicly supported and publicly controlled education for all, Jefferson attached great value to education as an indispensable means for the realization of individual happiness. For humble people to be cut off from the exhilaration and joys of knowledge and its quest was, in Jefferson's mind, a certain defeat for the great end of human happiness for all. He did not succeed in realizing in its fulness his plans for a public educational system to include all Virginians. But he did build the University of Virginia. He hoped that every young Virginian of merit and ability might obtain an education at the University, regardless of his social or financial status. He provided for the democratic administration of the University by the faculty and students. He insisted that intellectual freedom must prevail within academic halls as well as in every other area of the mind. Jefferson also attached great educational value to a free press. Today, when the ideal of a free education and a free press have been violated wherever the Fascist or Nazi hand reaches, Jefferson's educational philosophy is imperilled everywhere and becomes more precious than ever.

Cutting across and through Jefferson's democratic concept of human nature and society is his basic concept that intelligence and morality, coupled together, each balancing the other, are necessary instruments for the solution of the issues which a dynamic, changing world will always confront. Force as an instrument for the solution of problems he rejected, save as a last, desperate and absolutely necessary resort. This stands in high contrast with the Nazi glorification of force and primitivism and the justification of any means for the desired end. Jefferson realized that just as society is not crystallized, so

government can not be, so foreign policy can not be, so men's ideas as instruments to high moral values can not be. He insisted that the Constitution can and should be changed to meet new needs, and that successive generations, informed and educated, should determine these needs. He believed that in his own time Americans' freedom and happiness could be best preserved by a rigid policy of isolation from Europe's quarrels and by the restriction of governmental powers. But be-

cause of the dynamic, instrumental character of Jefferson's democratic philosophy, because above all he realized that freedom and happiness involve struggle and that the conditions of the struggle change, we may be fairly confident that, if he were living now, he would favor whatever course seemed to the honest leadership and informed masses necessary to preserve the only inflexible, the only transcendent end—the freedom and happiness of all individuals.

National Power and the Organization of the Peace

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

An analysis of the problems confronting the United Nations as they struggle to win the war and the peace.

IT IS NOT EASY to form a community in which peace and justice reign. Peace and justice are difficult achievements within the boundaries of a nation. They are even more difficult when they must be realized in global terms. The significance of this generation is that we have been confronted with the problem of achieving a just community in world terms—or perish.

In approaching so monumental a problem the various world-peace planners quickly fall into two schools. The one school may be defined as the idealists. The idealists are conscious of the urgency and the uniqueness of the task which mankind faces. They want something radical to be done in order to meet a radically new situation. But they are usually deficient in understanding of the perennial problems of political or economic justice. The idealistic answer to the world problem is usually a demand for a federation of all the nations of the world or even for a single world government.

The other school might be defined as the realistic and historical school. This school does not deny these new necessities and possibilities. But it views the task of realizing them in the light of its knowledge of the stubborn inertia of human history. It wants to know how nations are to be beguiled into a limitation of their sovereign rights, considering that national pride and parochial self-sufficiency are something more than the mere fruit of ignorance but recurring forces in all efforts at social cohesion.

All these differences of temper and viewpoint

are finally focused upon one crucial issue: the problem of power. The historical realists know that history is not a simple rational process but a vital one. All human societies are organizations of diverse vitalities and interests by power. Some dominant power lies at the center of every social organization. Some balance of power is the basis of whatever justice is achieved in human relations. Where the disproportion of power is too great and where an equilibrium of social forces is lacking, no mere rational or moral demands can achieve justice.

The rationalists and idealists believe that its social and economic problems demand and require a "federation of the world." They think of such a federation not primarily in terms of the complex economic and social interests, which must be brought into and held in a tolerable equilibrium. Nor do they think of the necessity of some dominant force or power as the organizing center of the equilibrium. They are on the whole content to state the ideal requirements in as rigorous terms as possible.

Sometimes they wring their hands in holy horror when the tortuous processes of history do not conform to their ideal demands. During the past decades they have been too preoccupied with the task of condemning the nations for their obvious defiance of the new requirements of a world civilization to be much concerned with the immediate perils which the crisis of our civilization has brought upon us. The task of world organization must be attempted from the standpoint of the historical realism. This conclusion

could be justified by the simple fact that no historical process has ever, even remotely, conformed to the pattern which the idealists have mapped out for it. But the truth does not lie simply on the side of the realists. Without an admixture of the temper and the insights of the other school, there could be no genuine advance in social organization at all.

The realists understand the perennial problems of politics, but they are usually deficient in their sense of the urgency of a new situation. They know that politics is a problem of the manipulation of power. But they easily interpret the problem of power in too cynical terms. Sometimes they forget that political power is a compound of which physical force, whether economic or military, is only one ingredient. They do not fully appreciate that a proper regard for moral aspirations is a source of political prestige; and that this prestige is itself an indispensable source of power.

In the present situation the idealists, in making plans for world organization, either disregard the problems of power entirely or they project some central pool of power without asking what tributaries are to fill the pool. In the former case they are sometimes under the illusion that "national sovereignty" is merely the fruit of faulty conceptions of international law. They would write new international laws in which the absolute sovereignty of nations is denied; and they believe that such a legal refutation of national claims would be sufficient to tame the stubborn self-will of nations and to maintain "law without force." (This phrase is the title of a recent book upon that subject, written in the temper just defined.)

In the latter case they conceive of some federation of the world with an international police force and with a newly and abstractly created moral and political prestige, sufficient to maintain itself against the divisive forces which will inevitably challenge its authority. Usually they refer to the creation of American nationhood as analogy and proof of the possibility of creating such a new authority. It happens that the history of the American Constitution and of American federalism conforms more nearly to this pattern than any other national history; but it does not conform as completely as the idealists imagine. They forget to what degree the sovereignty of the several states was actually abridged in the heat of a desperate conflict; that

even this conflict did not persuade the states to go as far as it was necessary to go;—and that when they did take the final step, many of them did so with mental reservations in the direction of separatism which finally resulted in a civil war. That war was necessary to prove that the nation was really one and that the constitutional commitments, by which it was formed, were irrevocable.

Generally the idealists think it possible to create such a new international authority and then make a moral demand upon the nations to submit themselves to it. They do not realize that no collective group in human history has ever made decisions in a vacuum. Sometimes nations are able to say B, if history has previously established the A upon which the B follows. But that is about as far as collective volition goes.

As against these illusions of the rationalists and idealists, the historical realists are more correct. They are right in looking to the mutual commitments made by the United Nations in the war as the real source of possibly wider commitments for the future. They are right in looking to the immediate necessities of a war situation for the compulsion which will abridge the self-will of nations, and in hoping that the necessities of the peace will be obvious enough to persuade the nations to extend, rather than to disavow the commitments thus made. It is always possible of course that the necessities of peace will, though equally urgent, not be equally obvious; that nations will refuse to conform to them and that another and even more tragic chapter in world history will have to be enacted before the nations bow to the irrefutable logic of history. This logic is irrefutable because an economically interdependent world must in some sense become a politically integrated world community or allow potential instruments of community to become instruments of mutual annihilation.

The weakness of the realists is that they usually do not go far enough in meeting new problems and situations. They are so conscious of the resistance in history to new ventures; and are so impressed by the force of the perennial problems of politics, which manifest themselves on each new level of history, that they are inclined to discount both the necessity and the possibility of new political achievements.

Both the idealists and the realists may be divided into two subordinate schools of thought.

One group of idealists does not deal with the problem of power at all. They would simply organize the world by law without asking where the power and authority to enforce the law is to come from. The other group is conscious of the problem of power, but they deal with it abstractly. Among the realists, one school of thought would merely reconstruct some new balance of power among the nations, having no confidence in international political organization. The other group believes in some kind of imperial organization of the world, with some small group of dominant nations furnishing the imperial power.

The most brilliant exposition of the school of thought which thinks in terms of reconstructing the balance of power as a principle of world peace, is Professor Spykman's very able book, *America's Strategy in World Politics*. The book has the merit of recognizing all the geographic, economic and other elements which must enter into any kind of international equilibrium and which cannot be disregarded on any level of political achievement. But it does not fully realize that an unorganized balance of power is potential anarchy and cannot preserve peace. The introduction of a single new factor into the precarious equilibrium, or the elaboration of a single new force of recalcitrance (as for instance the air power of Germany) may destroy the balance. The world community requires instruments for the manipulation of its social forces. Without them it is bound to fall into periodic anarchy.

For this reason the imperialistic realists actually have a more hopeful program than the "balance of power" realists. They know that a balance of power must be organized and that a dominant power must be the organizing center. They expect either America, or the Anglo-Saxon hegemony, or the four great powers, Russia, China, Britain and America, to form the organizing center of the world community. I think they are right in this thesis.

But the imperialistic realists usually do not take the problem of justice seriously enough. An Anglo-Saxon imperialism might be a great deal better than a Nazi one; but the Nazi order is so purely destructive that a new imperialism could be a great deal better than Nazism and yet not good enough to bring peace to the world. The new understandings with Russia, which cannot be overestimated, probably preclude the pos-

sibility of a pure Anglo-Saxon imperialism; and that is a great gain, however difficult the adjustments between Russia and the Western nations may prove to be.

But the real question is to what degree smaller nations can be drawn into the post war reconstruction constitutionally so that their voice and power will be fitted into the whole program and thus prevent the power of the dominant elements in the organization from becoming vexatious. Fortunately, many small nations are already related to the inchoate world scheme in the "United Nations." But unfortunately the policies of the United Nations are not being democratically conducted. The Roosevelt administration, despite its great superiority in political astuteness over the Wilsonian one, is failing at this point. Washington negotiates with many partners separately, and with Russia and Britain jointly to a considerable degree. But there is little indication of the gradual development of a democratic process on an international scale in the deliberations of the United Nations.

It would be unjust to claim that the realists are consistently unaware of the problem of democratic justice in the realm of a gradually coalescing unity. But it is fair to say that, on the whole, they do not take this problem seriously enough.

It is of course a desperate problem. It includes not only the relation of smaller powers to the dominant ones, but the relation of undeveloped nations, who have no power at all, to the nations which do have power—in other words, the problem of imperialism in the stricter sense of the word. It includes the necessity of apportioning responsibility to the proportions of power as they actually exist. For constitutional arrangements which allowed smaller nations to determine policies, which they lacked the power to implement, could become as fruitful a source of new anarchy as unchecked dominant power could become a new source of tyranny.

Nor will any amount of forethought be able to solve all these problems. The solution of some of them depends upon the internal structure of the nations participating in world community. While it is not true that a just world order depends altogether upon political and economic democracy prevalent in the constituent nations, it is true that the stronger the internal political and moral checks upon the imperialistic impulse are, the easier will it be to solve the

problem of external checks. If a stable peace depended altogether upon the achievement of an ideal democracy in the constituent nations, we would have to resign ourselves to decades of further purgatory. For obviously history does not move consistently in these matters; and we will have to include many nations of varying internal structures in any new world arrangements.

When all the difficulties are surveyed and all the necessities are kept in mind, it becomes almost axiomatic that anything like a perfect world organization is bound to elude us.

We have a right however to hope for at least a beginning of a more stable world order. This will most likely be achieved if the United Nations increase their constitutional commitments toward each other during the war; if the potential

sources of friction between the dominant powers are removed by the wisest possible statesmanship; if the smaller powers are armed with constitutional right which will prevent the dominant powers from exploiting them; and if the organs of mutuality between the United Nations are increased as rapidly as possible after the war.

It may be worth noting that no scheme of world organization will work if we can not arrive at just agreements now between the nations who are now involved in a fateful partnership. This means that practical steps of statesmanship which reduce the friction between ourselves and Britain, between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon world and between China and the West are worth more for the future of the world than all the blueprints for an ideal federation of the world.

The American Federation of Labor and the Peace

THE LAST CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor authorized me to appoint a committee to investigate and report on the following subjects:

- (1) A plan for labor representation in the peace conferences which will follow victory.
- (2) Specific proposals which the labor representatives should seek to have incorporated in the peace treaty.
- (3) A broad program of post war reconstruction to prevent a disastrous depression.
- (4) Expansion of social, economic and political security for America and the peoples of all lands.

I have named Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, to act as chairman of the committee, and have designated the following eight people to serve with him.

Harvey Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists;

John Childs, Columbia University, representative of the American Federation of Teachers;

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union;

Richard Gray, secretary of the International Union of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers;

George M. Harrison, president of the

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks;

Agnes Nestor, director of research and education of the International Glove Workers Union;

Reuben Soderstrom, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor;

Milton P. Webster, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

It is evident that we must start planning now for the emergencies that will face us when the war is over. We cannot afford to wait until victory is won. Without adequate preparation and a specific program to meet that day of victory, we may find—as in the last war—that the battle was in vain.

We know our objectives. We want lasting peace. We want equity between nations. We want freedom and opportunity for all nations. We want social and economic security for all peoples.

These are the things labor in America is working and fighting for. These are the objectives which will spell the real victory and the permanent destruction of the forces of hate and oppression against which we are now engaged in a desperate war.

I firmly hope that through the findings of this committee the American Federation of Labor will be able to show that labor is measuring up to its responsibilities and is capable of exerting real leadership for a better world.

WILLIAM GREEN

Labor's Goals in the Organization of the Peace

By CARTER GOODRICH

Labor groups throughout the world organize to implement the Atlantic Charter.

WHAT WILL the labor movement demand in the peace settlement? It is too early to give definitive answers. The official committee on post war problems set up by the American Federation of Labor has only just begun its work. So has the American Labor Conference on International Affairs made up of American trade union leaders drawn from both the AFL and the CIO together with a group of European labor leaders now resident in this country and certain friends of the labor movement. Other committees in this and in other countries are in much the same position. In any case final answers to the question can come only from the official organs of labor.

In the meantime, however, it may be useful to attempt to indicate, on the basis of statements already made, some of the main lines of labor demands which seem likely to be common to the workers' organizations in this and in many other countries. Some of these are demands for representation in the process of making the peace settlements and establishing the post-war order. Some of them are demands for principles and provisions which should be embodied in the settlement itself.

Demands for Representation

Of labor's demands the one most frequently and most vigorously expressed is that for participation in the process of making the peace. During the last war, Samuel Gompers was the principal spokesman on this point. His secretary, President William Green, has been a leading spokesman during this war. He made at the 1941 convention of the AFL, and repeated at the convention of October 1942, the demand that representatives of labor from every nation in the world should be invited to participate in any peace conference. The 1942 convention went on record in support of this demand by adopting the report of its Committee on Resolutions, under the heading "Peace Objectives and Peace Treaty," which contains the following passage: "The central part and the most vital recom-

mendation in the Executive Council's report deals with the necessity of adequate labor representation in all delegations from the countries concerned, for organized labor must have the opportunity of applying its influence for a better world when the war ends. Unless there is this adequate representation of labor, it will be impossible to negotiate a final treaty which will contain the provisions essential to a better world." Similar declarations have been made by leaders of the CIO, of the labor movement in others of the United Nations, and by Walter Schevenels speaking as general secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Many of these statements go further and demand the participation of labor in the governmental agencies in various countries which are making preparations for the peace settlement and plans for post war reconstruction. On this point the 1942 AFL convention adopted the following declaration: "Your committee is . . . convinced of the necessity for adequate labor representation upon all federal agencies dealing with the war effort, and post war planning."

An important related demand is that for representation through the International Labor Organization. The "American" resolution on reconstruction introduced by the United States delegation and adopted unanimously by the International Labor Conference of 1941, includes the recommendation "that the International Labor Organization be represented in any peace or reconstruction conference after the war." This is significant for two reasons: first, because the ILO is the only inter-governmental institution in which the labor movement is fully and officially represented; and, second, because the proposal in this case came from the representatives of the labor movement. The clause referred to originated in the workers' group of the Conference, which included labor delegates from 22 nations, and it was the only amendment to the resolution as originally presented for which the workers asked. The following reference to this

occasion is contained in the report of the Resolutions Committee adopted by the recent AFL Convention: "There emerges in any review of this historic meeting the unanimous adoption of the so-called American Resolution dealing with the post war emergency and reconstruction and authorizing the ILO to be represented in any peace conference following the war. Your committee regards this broad resolution as of far-reaching importance." The British workers' delegate to the Conference later explained the purpose of the suggestion. "We are not," he said, "going to be put into the same position that we were in at the end of the last war." The way to avoid it was to have the ILO "made the instrument and the means by which the workers of the world can express themselves in collaboration with the governments and employers."

Freedom of Association

One of the clearest of labor's goals is the restoration of trade unionism and the guarantee of freedom of association. As early as October, 1941, William Green suggested that a ninth point should be added to the eight points of the Atlantic Charter. He declared that the right of workers to belong to free democratic trade unions "must now be written into a world peace treaty and guaranteed by those who subscribe their names to the peace treaty."

Joseph Hallsworth, member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and Workers' vice-chairman of the ILO Emergency Committee, made a similar declaration at a meeting of the latter in April 1942: "One of the first things that we shall expect to be done will be to provide the conditions in which the restoration of trade union organization can be accomplished, and one of the things that a restored international trade unionism will have to think about and plan its action about will be the definite restoration of trade unionism nationally in those countries which have been devastated and overrun."

It is interesting to note that Harold Butler, former director of the ILO and now British Minister at Washington, stressed the importance of the same point in his very brief remarks at the AFL convention: "When the time comes," he said, "it seems to me the trade union movements of the English speaking countries will have a very special and a very great job to perform in reconstruction. Upon them will largely depend the rebuilding of trade unionism in the countries

where it is being crushed. . . . Until that has been done it will not be possible to talk about a free world or the restoration of democracy. . . . After all, freedom of association is one of the essential freedoms."

The importance of this question is obvious not only to all within the labor movement, but to many outside its ranks who realize that the suppression of the unions in Germany and Italy was one of the things which made it easy for the dictators to lead their people unresistingly down the road to aggressive war. The framing of guarantees applicable in all countries is a difficult question. No one would suggest that trade unionism of the American or British model is applicable to every stage of industrial development to be found in the world. In many countries quite different forms of organization, for example, farmers' cooperatives, may be the principal organs for the masses of the working population. Yet means must be found for substantial protection of the right of organization. It is, as Butler says, "one of the essential freedoms;" and its effective exercise is a prerequisite to the attainment of freedom from want.

Social Security

The labor movement in every country places social security high in its list of goals. Of this there was ample evidence in the reception given throughout the United Nations to the publication of the Beveridge Report. The setting up of the Beveridge Committee was largely in response to labor demands; its actual appointment was made by a labor member of the government. In large measure the Beveridge proposals follow the recommendations made by the British Trades Union Congress; if the plan, which is now actively under debate, is put into effect, it will be mainly as a result of the vigorous and continuing pressure of the labor movement.

What Beveridge has proposed is a comprehensive system providing for protection from loss of income resulting from all the common risks to which workers are exposed. In short, it proposes a floor under income. The particular proposals grow out of British experience and are aimed at British conditions. They would not fit those of other countries without adaptation, but neither the problem nor the demand for its full solution is confined to Great Britain. New Zealand has in actual operation a system almost as comprehensive. The countries of Latin America have made real progress in the field. An Inter-

American Conference on Social Security, organized on the initiative of the International Labor Organization, representing 21 American nations and including among its delegates Robert Watt of the AFL and Emil Rieve of the CIO, made plans for the advancement of the movement throughout the Americas and adopted the declaration that "the health, capacity and welfare of the workers of any one American nation is a concern of all American nations." There is no subject on which the views of organized workers in all countries are so nearly identical. Certainly there is no subject on which the different groups which make up the American labor movements are more completely united. As a part of labor's demands, it is therefore reasonable to expect an "American Beveridge Plan" extending our own system of social security into comprehensive protection against all the common risks.

Full Employment

Social security is not enough. It is an essential protection but it is no substitute for work at good wages. Sir William Beveridge himself has made this clear in his report. "Income security," he says, "which is all that can be given by social insurance, is so inadequate a provision for human happiness" that no one should put it forward as the only element or even as the principal element in a program of reconstruction. It must be accompanied by "the abolition of mass unemployment." The demand for full employment, the determination that mass unemployment shall not be allowed again, is the most fundamental of the demands that are being put forward by the workers in the industrial countries. It is the goal that offers the greatest challenge to constructive leadership.

The first problem is to provide jobs for the men when they come home from war and for the millions of men and women now at work making the products that will not be needed in time of peace. The second is the maintenance of a high level of employment not merely for a brief post war boom, but in the permanent utilization for the needs of peace of the great productive capacities which we are now using for the purposes of war.

Some of the needs are already clear. A competent and adequately supported United States Employment Service will be as essential in directing the movement away from war jobs as it is now in the movement towards them. The problems of retraining will be similar and to

them will be added the important problem of vocational rehabilitation for those wounded in the war. Labor will no doubt insist on maintaining through this period the same type of influence which it has exerted through such agencies as the Management-Labor Policy Committee of the Manpower Commission. It is equally clear that extensive programs of public works must be provided to take up part of the slack in the period when war industry is being dismantled. Labor's influence will certainly be in favor of planning such programs now and of applying them when employment begins to slack. It is not yet clear how much more the government will have to do to assure the maintenance of the demand for labor. The answer to this question will be a challenge to labor statesmanship. Perhaps many leaders of labor would now accept Beveridge's statement of the necessity of a "determination to use the powers of the state to whatever extent may prove necessary to ensure for all not indeed absolute continuity of work but a reasonable chance of productive employment."

"Full employment at good wages," to quote Sumner Welles' statement of the economic goals of the United Nations, is an international as well as a national problem. In working for this end the leaders of labor will need to take care that they do not choose methods which set the interests of workers in one country against the interests of workers in other countries. For the workers in lands broken by the war and for those in many undeveloped regions of the world, there is no hope of the attainment of this goal without international assistance and without a great extension of international trade. The question is scarcely less important to American workers. We shall not find good markets for American products in a world of impoverished customers. The leaders of labor will have to consider what measures of international economic cooperation will do most to raise the levels of production and consumption in this and other countries. In making sure that the gains of such increase will go to the workers, they will no doubt be concerned with the restoration and extension of the trade unions and with the strengthening of the authority and influence of the International Labor Organization as an agency for setting international labor standards.

The Contrast with 1914-1918

A number of observers have pointed out that the labor movement has been less conspicuous

in the discussions of war and peace aims than it was during the war of 1914-1918. During that conflict, very embarrassing political issues were raised by proposals for meetings between the labor and socialist groups of allied, neutral and enemy countries. The labor movements of the allied countries were sharply critical of their governments' war aims, and declarations made by allied labor were an important prelude to Wilson's Fourteen Points. Demands put forward during the war on the one hand by Samuel Gompers and on the other hand by the European trade unionists who attended the Leeds Conference in 1916 had much to do with the creation at the Peace Conference of the International Labor Organization. So far at least, the history of the present war seems to many observers to show less indication of independent leadership on the part of labor; certainly it shows less of suspicion and criticism and protest.

Certain writers have attempted to explain this fact in terms of the weakness of the labor movement. Trade unionism had long been suppressed in the Axis countries and was at once driven underground in each of the occupied countries. The labor movement of continental Europe can therefore speak freely only through the voice of a few exiles and through the seamen's unions of its maritime countries. These facts are of obvious importance; but those who base their explanation on the weakness of the international labor movement tend to overlook the assured strength of labor in Great Britain and the fact that organized labor in the United States and in certain other parts of the world is much stronger than it was in 1914-1918.

They tend also to overlook certain other circumstances of great importance. "This is labor's war" in a much fuller sense than in 1914-18. Labor everywhere has been the foe of Fascism. In many cases the labor movement was readier than most other groups to recognize the necessity of fighting. This time there has been within the United Nations almost no trace of the labor and socialist pacifism that was of considerable importance in Great Britain and of some importance in this country during the last war. Neither in the United States nor in any of the United Nations have there been any industrial disputes at all comparable in seriousness with the strikes during the last war on the Clyde and in South Wales. Moreover, the labor movement has had much more to do with the direction of the war effort than during the last war. This is

true not merely on the political side, with Bevin and other labor men sitting in the British War Cabinet and with Australia and New Zealand under labor governments, but also on the industrial side. The association of trade unions with direct responsibility in the organization of manpower—though it has differed from nation to nation and though its extent is still a subject of controversy in the United States—is one of the notable features of the conflict. Finally, the Atlantic Charter itself and a series of declarations by the leading statesmen of the United Nations contain more far reaching promises to the workers of the world than were ever before made on behalf of responsible governments. Under these circumstances the leaders of labor in the United Nations have been too heavily occupied in the war effort to be giving their major attention to post war questions and too loyal to the professed purposes of the United Nations to be raising strong notes of dissidence and distrust.

It would be a great mistake to conclude from this analysis that labor's demands will not be strongly pressed in the peace settlement. Even the voice of labor of continental Europe will be heard. It is active in the underground and should play a considerable part in the liberation of Europe and emerge with increased power and influence. In general the spokesmen of labor in the United Nations will be in a stronger rather than a weaker position at the peace table for the very reason that they will speak more on the basis of responsible participation and less on the basis of criticism and opposition than in the last war. Their position, moreover, will be strengthened by the promises that have been made to them.

The Opportunity of Labor

To the labor movement, therefore, the peace settlement offers challenge and great opportunity. Labor can accept the goals of the "improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security" of the Atlantic Charter and of the worldwide expansion of "production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods" promised by the Lend-Lease agreements. It will have a heavy responsibility in helping to translate these purposes into the detail of practical purposes, in seeing to it that governments hold to these purposes, and in massing the support of labor behind the measures, national and international, that will be essential to their fulfillment.

New Books

A Time for a Great Moral Awakening

A TIME FOR GREATNESS, by Herbert Agar. Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1942. \$2.50.

This book by the editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* will come to the reader as a moral tonic. In essence the situation we face, whether abroad or at home, is one for moral awakening. It is this which calls now for greatness.

The author believes that the present evil state in our society is the result of our failure to live up to the demands made upon us by our modern industry and by the international situation since 1918. And this failure is at bottom a moral failure. It was our culpable negligence which allowed the world to drift into such a state. It is, however, not too late to act. We can, if we will, even yet save the world. But to save it we must "perform prodigies in the field of works. And the works will not be accomplished unless we first renew our faith" in the underlying principles of democracy.

To Mr. Agar, bad as our economic situation has been, we must not put it "first on our list of woes." The evil state of our economy is but a sign of a deeper sickness, a sickness of the soul. And "if a man's soul is sick," it will not suffice, he says, "to raise his income" or "let him add another bathroom to his cottage." Whatever change we may make in our economy, it will not cure the fundamental evil unless it shall "not only produce and dis-

tribute more wealth but do it in a manner that fosters freedom and self-dependence and the other moral aims of our American life." (italics original)

As we turn from economics to war, a like moral demand holds. If a man is to perform "prodigies in the field of works," if he "is to strive with all his heart," he must know for what he strives, know clearly, know unmistakably. To say that in this war "we are fighting for our lives" is true, but not adequate; because to win the war on that aim alone might mean, when victory is won, that we once again withdraw into disastrous isolation so that the war has to be fought all over again in another twenty-odd years. No, this war is a "revolt against civilization itself. Victory cannot be made secure until civilization is revitalized. This demands that we work out a faith which all men can understand and which most men can accept. Only with that weapon in our hands can the power of darkness be broken."

What shall be the content of that faith? It is precisely the doctrine, taught us by our fathers, of respect for the person as such, the moral equality of all men wherever found. It is this conception which will, if we let it, guide us to safety through the evil of the modern world. It is this which is adequate to cure the soul sickness that brought us into our present evil state. "A world where equality was accepted and served would be democratic necessarily. It would be free necessarily. It would be without race prejudice, and without class oppression. No such perfection will be found on our disorderly earth; but to whatever extent we make the concept of equality come true, to the same extent we fulfill many of our deepest political and moral ambitions."

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Space does not allow us to trace out in detail the changes Mr. Agar would have us make in our present institutional life if we are to work out the essential implications of democratic equality. His discussion is both penetrating and convincing. A few hints must here suffice. Business must become "a part of life," a humane part of life, intending to serve and not enslave. Labor must be respected. "It is not possible for unions to be responsible, creative, statesmanlike, if they are treated like enemies of society and marked down for eradication as soon as a propitious time comes." The press must see its freedom in a new light, in the light of social responsibility, must see that "it needs its freedom in order to help the public keep watch on the politicians, and in order to inform the public of the problems and the dangers which the public on the whole would rather not hear discussed." Finally, "our government as we are now conducting it is not good enough." We must make it "accountable, responsible, understandable, and thus worthy of democracy." If this cannot be done by "re-interpretation" of its powers, it may have to be done by a constitutional convention.

It is a great book Mr. Agar has written, most excellently written and so great where it is great that one shrinks from recording reservations. But in honesty to himself the reviewer must. There seems, to the reviewer, a regrettable obscurantism as to the grounds given for accepting the democratic doctrine of equality. This conception as with other human matters would seem quite capable of standing on its own experiential feet without recourse to supernaturalism. There seems also at least a trace of magic in Mr. Agar's doctrine of "free will," as

if moral decisions do not have an essential psychological history in the race and in the individual. The result appears in the seeming failure to understand and utilize the interactions between moral decisions and institutional forms; and in turn in the failure to understand part of the emphasis that some put on economics as a determiner of life. These reservations, however, it seems to this reviewer, do not lessen the merits of the demand which the book makes upon us to renew our faith in the moral foundation of democracy and to struggle for the enthronement of this moral equality in our civilization.

WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK

How Can We Build a Free, Industrial Society?

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL MAN, by Peter F. Drucker, New York: John Day Company, 1942. \$2.50

Readers of Mr. Drucker's earlier book, *The End of Economic Man*, were prepared for something very fresh and stimulating as a sequel. The thesis of that book is an underlying assumption of *The Future of Industrial Man*. It is implicit in two sentences in the present volume: "We have learned that a functioning society can no longer be organized in and through the market. Economic Man has not only made himself superfluous through his material successes; he has also failed politically, socially and metaphysically." The concept of "economic man" is implemented both in capitalism and

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in Marxist socialism; both, Mr. Drucker believes, have been rendered obsolete in the present industrial era. But an industrial society has not yet emerged. It is for the realization of such an organic development that the war is being fought.

This does not mean that winning the war—much less an illusory quest for a basis of permanent peace—will achieve the desired end. Victory can only remove an obstacle to its achievement. But the war effort, the author believes, is driving us to an industrial development which can become the basis of an authentic society. The question confronting us is, "How can an industrial society be built as a free society?" Nazism, in essence, is an effort to solve the problem posed by the industrial era through abandoning freedom.

The fundamental weakness, the author believes, in our social structure is that no functional principle is inherent in it. Such stability as it has maintained is due rather to the relegation of function. The exercise of power, political and industrial, is not, as it should be, an implementation of the beliefs, purposes and aims of the individuals composing society. It may be regular, but it is not "legitimate." This concept of legitimate power is central in Mr. Drucker's analysis. "Legitimate power," he says, "stems from the same basic belief of society regarding man's nature and fulfillment on which the individual's social status and function rest." It finds its justification in the "basic ethos" of the society itself. It rests on an accepted "ethical or metaphysical principle." Such power cannot be said to "corrupt;" it is illegitimate power that corrupts, since it is mere "might." Real power today is of this sort, for the typical American is a Populist at heart, refusing to admit the validity of the industrial system. His beliefs and values are a hangover from the time when "there were no large corporations, no mass production, no permanent working class, no managerial power."

America became a nation during the mercantile era, in which social status rested on property, and on property rights "expressed through the market," and this continued to be the basis of legitimate power in the nineteenth century. *Laissez faire* was not anarchic, as is often charged, but a definite order in which government was regarded as legitimate only in a narrow political sphere. The market represented power in its own right. We may not like the look of that today, but in terms of Mr. Drucker's analysis it was functionally real.

But the advent of the industrial system has vitiated the rationale that was carried over into it. Real power is now created by the business corporation, whose stockholders have abdicated in favor of management. They "function" by proxy, which is to say they do not function at all. The economic system itself is no longer referred to as capitalism but as the "free enterprise" system, which documents the shift from emphasis on property ownership to emphasis on management, from which both owners and workers are functionally remote. The stockholder has not been robbed of his rights but has thrown them away. Managerial power is the real power, but is "illegitimate" because no accepted principle underlies it. We still cling to a fiction as to the locus of power.

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The worker, through unionism, has fitted into this picture. The labor union, no more than industrial management, represents legitimate power. It is "an anti-organization, an antibody against social toxins," serving as a "counter-weight" to big business. As the stockholder escapes responsibility by owning shares in a corporation, so the worker joins a labor union in order to "escape decisions" and "transfer responsibility."

It should be noted that Mr. Drucker does not follow the line taken by Burnham in *The Managerial Revolution*. The latter, as Mr. Drucker understands him, makes "our present industrial nonsociety appear a perfectly functioning society." (This is hardly fair, since Mr. Burnham expressly disclaims any personal satisfaction in contemplating the trend he describes.) The point is that our author sees in the managerial régime a development for which no rationale exists in our framework of ideas and values.

The penetrating philosophical discussion of the degeneration of "rational liberalism" into a doctrine of biological determinism, which paved the way for the irrational absolutes of totalitarianism, cannot be reviewed here. Mr. Drucker believes in freedom and condemns "man-made absolutes," since human nature is imperfect and imperfectible. "The roots of freedom are in the Sermon on the Mount and in the epistles of Saint Paul." We still do not understand that freedom "is a question of

decision and responsibility, not one of perfection and efficiency." But freedom must be sought in two spheres separately, the political and the social. Here the Founding Fathers saw clearly. The American Revolution was really a conservative counter-revolution which eschewed absolutes and provided checks and balances for the governance of society. We must follow their lead now and seek a basis for legitimate power in both the political and the social sphere.

That Mr. Drucker seems most satisfactory in his diagnosis flows from the nature of his thesis. Prescription is all but excluded by his conception of a free society. His rather slighting reference to "the planners" may fairly be thought gratuitous. Yet he has contributed an invaluable analysis of the major problem confronting contemporary western society.

F. ERNEST JOHNSON

Solve Far Eastern Problems or Face Another War

BASIS FOR PEACE IN THE FAR EAST, by Nathaniel Peffer. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942. \$2.50.

Here is a book which should be especially welcomed by teachers interested in labor. For labor has always been in the vanguard of those groups who have advocated its major thesis: the recognition of political and economic imperialism as a potent cause of war and, consequently, its thoroughgoing elimination as a prerequisite to peace. Many have written generally and indirectly about the solution of colonial problems in the post-war world, but no one has as yet outlined so specific and realistic a program with such clarity and precision as the author of this book.

The Atlantic Charter, for instance, contains certain principles, such as economic equality and the freedom of peoples designed presumably to deal with the problems of imperialism. But they seem of necessity vague and illusive, unrelated as they are to an actual situation. This book, on the other hand, supplies the implementation of these principles, as well as their application and elaboration in a particular area in which the United States, and, consequently, American labor, has long possessed a tremendous stake.

Turning to the first point of his thesis, the identification of imperialism as a constant cause of war, we find the author demonstrating how conclusively this proved true in the Far East. There, the conflict came as a result of the rivalry of the powers for domination in China. "The war is the expression of a century, the logical conclusion and climax of a century,"—a century of international competition over China as a colony and the failure of the colonial powers to recognize China's claim to independent nationhood.

Driving the thesis home, Professor Peffer then proceeds to describe the part the United States has played in this conflict. He demonstrates realistically that Pearl Harbor is the inexorable result of America's policy in the Far East, which has "advanced towards war throughout a large part of its history," and is now staking the lives of its young men in that area.

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The masterly marshalling of evidence to sustain the argument and the logical tracing of American Far Eastern connections from 1785 to 1941 will not be popular with the isolationists. They carry the weight of historical facts, however, which march logically to indisputable conclusions. Briefly, these are: that our consistent and unwavering goal in the Far East has been the preservation of the integrity of China for the exercise of our economic rights and interests therein; that Japan was the last power to challenge our position; and that, therefore, collision with Japan was inevitable. It is emphasized that we played, to be sure, a negative rather than a positive role, seeking no tangible spoils like the others but rather restraining their exploitations when they interfered with our own rights and interests. Nevertheless, we involved ourselves thereby in the struggle: "It was a commitment no less for being a commitment by veto."

Having isolated the germ of the disease, economic and political imperialism, as the fundamental cause of war in the Far East, the writer devotes the remainder of the book to specific recommendations for its complete eradication as the only basis for permanent peace in that area. And the prescription consists of three directives: first, the complete crushing of Japan as the present imperialist menace to Eastern Asia; second, the reconstruction and strengthening of China as an independent state; and lastly, the recognition and encouragement of their ambitions for independence among the peoples of Southeastern Asia.

Not the least value of these recommendations is the fact that they aim both at the complete annihilation of imperialism in the Far East, and at the structure of a system which will prevent its recurrence. The relentless crushing of Japan upon her own soil is insisted upon both to discredit the present leaders and to teach the Japanese people the evil of war (rather than the evil of a lost war), but also to release those elements which will build a new Japan. For this ruthless crushing, according to the author, is to cease with the close of the war and be immediately followed by measures to rehabilitate and restore the country so that it can take its place in establishing the economy of a free Asia.

It will be remarked that Professor Peffer is more extreme than other contemporary writers on Japan, such as Ambassador Grew and Hugh Byas, in the severity of the punishment to be meted out. On the other hand, he has no idea of prolonging the punishment and thereby creating in the post-war period a liability to economic stability in Asia as the Allies did with Germany in Europe after 1918. Many will applaud the end here envisaged but will search the book in vain for more details regarding the means to achieve it. For insistent questions arise as to how to restrain a reconstituted Japan from diverting economic assistance designed for manufacturing the goods of peace to producing again the sinews of war. How prevent Japan from making airplane parts in a bicycle factory set up with loans from the United Nations? This is only one of the gaps in the program; there are many others which will, at least, provoke valuable discussion.

Like the recommendations regarding Japan, those dealing with China are both negative and positive, pro-

viding for future defense against a renewed imperialism. Here, too, the author is ruthless in his demands for the complete renunciation on the part of the colonial powers of all territorial concessions, special privileges, commercial advantages, leaseholds—in short, of every vestige and practice of imperialistic control. But this renunciation must also be accompanied by such unstinted assistance political and economic to China from the powers, that she will come to possess so great a strength and independence as to be absolutely impregnable against the renaissance of imperialism wherever in the future world it may raise its ugly head.

Since this pattern of a liberated and vitalized China has already been set through such agencies as lease-lend, the universal admiration and good-will prevailing toward a gallant ally, and the recent renunciation of the extra-territorial rights by Great Britain and the United States, it would seem that this recommendation has a better and more speedy chance of realization than the one respecting Japan.

The author rates his final prescription, the encouragement of the nationalist movements among the peoples of Southeastern Asia, as less important than the provisions regarding the relationship of China and Japan and their position towards the Great Powers. Nevertheless, it is a very significant recommendation for the future of imperialism everywhere. The revolt of native peoples against their oppressors constitutes a boomerang for imperialistic exploitation and one of the best hopes for its ultimate destruction. To encourage these movements

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in Southeastern Asia, therefore, would bring about favorable repercussions among similar struggles towards freedom carried on by the peoples of Africa, the Near East, and the Middle East.

To conclude, the final and insistent message of this book consists of a solemn warning that if the conditions for peace in the Far East are not fulfilled, there will ensue only one tragic result, the continuation of war. This will mean war among the competing powers, war between native peoples and their oppressors, all of which will involve the United States. The conclusion, reached by the logic of history, epitomizes the value of an admirable book. It sums up the case against an outworn imperialism, which even today is attempting to reclaim its place in the post-war world in terms of "We shall keep what we have."

MARY E. TOWNSEND

G. D. H. Cole's Plan for Remaking Europe After the War

EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND THE FUTURE, by G. D. H. Cole. New York: Macmillan, 1942. \$2.00.

This brilliantly written book, which has caused a great stir in Britain, is a challenge to socialists and non-socialists alike.

Its thesis is that capitalism has proved an inadequate economic foundation, the nation-state an equally inadequate political foundation, of European life; that large-scale socialist planning is the only form which will permit Europe to survive and revive; and that, hence, British and Continental socialists had better give up their prejudice against the Soviet and join forces with her in order to establish in Europe two or three big political units on a socialist foundation, either of the Soviet brand or liberal-democratic after the Western mood.

The main lines of the argument are not unfamiliar. Industrial monopoly capitalism is of a restrictive nature, which does not permit of full employment. The New Deal policy does provide for full employment but at the price of piling up an intolerably high and steadily mounting national debt. In the many small sovereign states of Europe there are industries which can live only on heavy subsidies, and taxes and tariffs doom the peasants to half-starvation. Modern mammoth industries demand a sufficiently large area for effective planning and utilization; and unless socialist planning is instituted on an adequate scale, government will again break down and war will be the fruit of rising tyranny and a diversion from domestic trouble once more.

There are highly original strokes in the picture. This reviewer has nowhere seen the insistence on a mammoth economic and political organization combined with this clear insight that bigness must be balanced by decentralization and diversity, i.e. by nationality on the second plane, and by the warmth and spontaneity of the smallest group in the home district and the workshop of the factory on the local plane. It is the latter which are the essence of democracy, and whose strangulation at

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the hands of the over-all organizations, the mechanized parties, trade unions, and parliaments, strips Western democracy of its vitality. The "Guild Socialist" Cole asserts himself in these beautiful and moving pages.

The author is candid and realistic in his approach to the complexity of the German problem. He argues that the proved inability of the Germans—the protestations of the Social Democratic exiles notwithstanding—for liberal democracy, the absence of any real liberal revolution in this most advanced capitalistic country of Europe, suggests that the form of socialism appropriate to the German mind is the Soviet form rather than the Western one. Throughout the book he is, however, pleasantly undogmatic and ready to admit the possibility of error on any special account.

We want to attach four observations to the book, in the order of increasing importance.

In the first place, while the author is perfectly candid on the shortcomings of the Soviet system and is right in insisting that it did abolish, not inequality indeed but the worst source of inequality, namely class property, he underrates the special conditions which made Soviet planning successful and are not found in any advanced country. The fact that Russia started from a very low level facilitated planning—everything was needed and nothing was redundant. Investment in brand-new industries, of course, cannot be guided by price and cost signals—which the Russians had destroyed—but depends on a more or less arbitrary decision, fitted for a bureaucracy. And it obviously makes a lot of difference whether your plan is only to overtake the example of the West in both industrial and agricultural equipment, or whether it would have to go ahead into an unknown land.

Secondly, the problem of the small nation is treated with a cavalier sweep not characteristic of other emphases of this book. For example, what shall we think when reading that "the" small states, including Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, the healthiest and most enlightened democracies of the world, do not know how to feed their "poverty-stricken" peasants? The essential health of private property, where it is not class property but of the Jeffersonian type, should not simply be brushed aside because it does not fit an inherited dogma. Democracy, in other words, does not simply coincide with socialism.

Thirdly, the picture which Cole gives of imperialism is equally one-sided. He ignores the vitality which democracy, despite capitalism, has asserted in transforming the American, British, and French empires—in giving the Filipinos the liberty for which they so convincingly fought under the banners of MacArthur and Wainwright—in giving Eire the freedom to stay neutral to Britain's formidable peril—and in devising for French North Africa a system of village co-operatives to supplement the big state-owned mines and power plants. If it is certainly true that imperialism corrupts democracy, it is also true, and increasingly so, that democracy "corrupts" imperialism.

Finally, one does not see how the socialist revolution shall be brought about, according to the author. In no country of the world do the industrial workers, in whose

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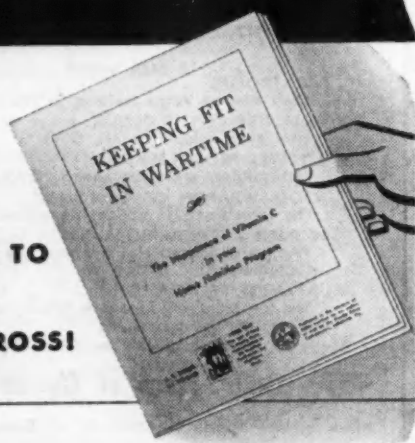
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image Marxian socialism is conceived, possess a statistical majority. The middle classes are generally as strong numerically and, of course, stronger through their economic functions; and their image is individualistic and cooperative rather than collectivist. The two are by no means incompatible if the parties to the conflict recognize that different technical conditions of work shape men and their aspirations differently, under the common lode-star of liberty, equality, and fraternity. But to impose the proletarian pattern on non-proletarians tends to drive the latter to Fascism. The author is as blind as all other socialist theorists to the fundamental problem of how to reconcile the totalitarian proletarian claim of socialism with its democratic claim.

The supreme principle, then, is no longer socialism, with democracy allegedly its mere corollary, but rather democracy, on the basis of an equality which is not social homogeneity; a democracy which socializes key industries but protects and promotes economic independence in farming and other fields and which unites the differently organized groups ideologically under the principle of democracy of which they are but different manifestations, economically through their mutual interest in a crisis-proof plan for industrial growth.

EDUARD HEIMANN

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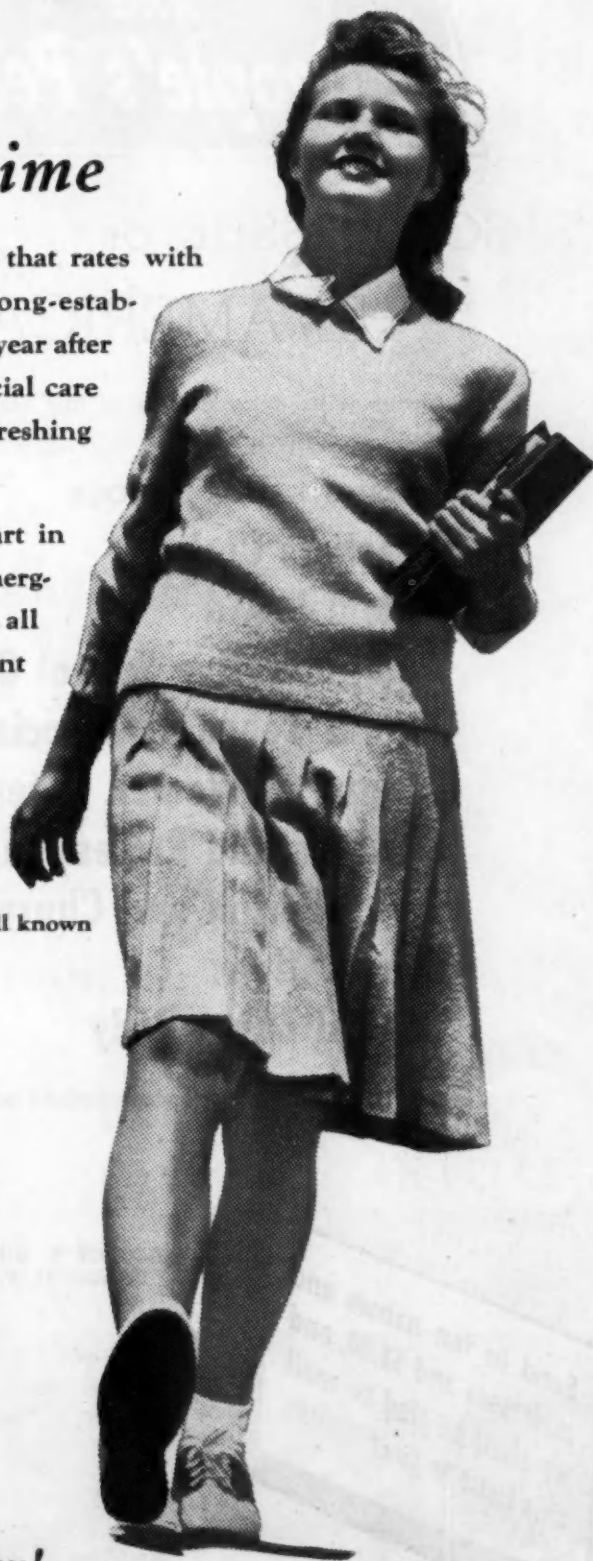
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